

*The Hon. Henry Maynard
with the respects of
M. Blair*

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COMMENTS

July 28. 63

ON THE

POLICY INAUGURATED

BY THE

President,

IN A

LETTER AND TWO SPEECHES,

By MONTGOMERY BLAIR,

POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

NEW YORK :

HALL, CLAYTON & MEDOLE, PRINTERS,

46 PINE STREET.

1863.

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LETTER

TO THE

MEETING HELD AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE,

NEW YORK, MARCH 6, 1862.

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *March 2, 1863.*

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of yesterday, inviting me to attend a meeting of the citizens of New York, at the Cooper Institute, on the 6th instant, and requesting my views on the subject of the call. I shall not be able to attend the meeting, nor have I the leisure to write out my views upon the subject with the care demanded by the nature of it, but I will offer some thoughts for your consideration.

I do not concur in the proposition that certain States have been “recently overturned and wholly subverted as members of the Federal Union,” upon which the call is based. This is, in substance, what the confederates themselves claim; and the fact that secession is maintained by the authors of this call, for a different purpose, does not make it more constitutional, or prevent them from being actual aiders and abettors of the confederates.

No one who knows my political career will suspect that my condemnation of this doctrine is influenced by any indisposition to put an end to slavery. I have left no opportunity unimproved to strike at it, and have never been restrained from doing so by personal considerations. But I have never believed that the abolition of slavery, or any other great reform, could or ought to be effected, except by lawful and constitutional modes. The people have never sanctioned, and never will sanction any other; *and the friends of a cause will especially avoid all questionable grounds when, as in the present instance, nothing else can long postpone their success.*

There are two distinct interests in slavery: the political and property interests, held by distinct classes. The rebellion originated with the political class. The property class, which generally belonged to the Whig organization, had lost no property in the region where the rebellion broke out, and were prosperous. It was the Democratic organization, which did not represent the slaveholders as a class, which hatched the rebellion. Their defeat in the late political struggle, and in the present rebellion, extinguishes at once and forever the political interest of slavery. The

election of Mr. Lincoln put an end to the hopes of Jeff. Davis, Wise, *et id omne genus*, for the Presidency of the Union, and hence the rebellion. It extinguished slavery as a power to control the Federal Government, and it was the capacity of slavery to subserve this purpose alone which has given it vitality, for morally and economically it is indefensible. With the extinction of its political power, there is no motive to induce any politician to uphold it. No man ever defended such an institution except for pay, and nothing short of the power of the Government could provide sufficient gratification to ambition to pay for such service; and therefore Mr. Toombs said, with perfect truth, that the institution could only be maintained in the Union by the possession of the Government. That has been wrested from it, and the pay is on the side of justice and truth. Can any man who respects popular intelligence think it necessary, with such advantages on the side of justice and truth, to violate the great charter of our liberties to insure their triumph? Such an act, in my judgment, so far from advancing the cause in whose name it is performed, would surely be disastrous, and result in bringing our opponents into power in the name of the Constitution.

It is not merely a question of constitutional law or slavery with which we have to deal in "securing permanent peace." The problem before us is the practical one of dealing with the relations of masses of two different races in the same community. The calamities now upon us have been brought about, as I have already said, not by the grievances of the class claiming property in slaves, but by the jealousy of caste awakened by the secessionists in the non-slaveholders.

In considering the means of securing the peace of the country hereafter, it is, therefore, this jealousy of race which is chiefly to be considered. Emancipation alone would not remove it. It was by proclaiming to the laboring whites, who fill the armies of rebellion, that the election of Mr. Lincoln involved emancipation, equality of the negroes with them, and consequently amalgamation, that their jealousy was stimulated to the fighting point. Nor is this jealousy the fruit of mere ignorance and bad passion, as some suppose, or confined to the white people of the South. On the contrary, it belongs to all races, and, like all popular instincts, proceeds from the highest wisdom. It is, in fact, the instinct of self-preservation which revolts at hybridism.

Nor does this instinct militate against the natural law, that all men are created equal, if another law of nature, equally obvious, is obeyed. We have but to restore the subject race to the same, or to a region similar to that from which it was brought by violence, to make it operative; and such a separation of races was the condition which the immortal author of the Declaration himself declared to be indispensable to give it practical effect. A theorist, not living in a community where diverse races are brought in contact in masses, may stifle the voice of nature in his own bosom, and from a determination to live up to a mistaken view of the doctrine, go so far as to extend social intercourse to individuals of the subject race. But few even of such persons would pursue their theories so far as amalgamation and other legitimate consequences of their logic. Indeed, for the most part, such persons in our country, like the leading spirits in Exeter Hall, are so far removed, by their circumstances, from any prac-

tical equality with working people of any race, that they have little sympathy for them, and nothing to apprehend for themselves from the theory of equality. Not so with the white working man in a community where there are many negroes. In such circumstances, the distinction of caste is the only protection of the race from hybridism and consequent extinction.

That this jealousy of caste is the instinct of the highest wisdom, and is fraught with the greatest good, is abundantly attested by its effects on our own race, in which it is stronger than in any other. We conquer and hold our conquest by it.

The difficult question with which we have to deal is, then, the question of race, and I do not think it is disposed of, or that our difficulties will be lessened by emancipation by Congress, even if such an act was constitutional. It would certainly add to the exasperation of the non-slaveholding whites of the South, and might unite them against the Government, and, if so, they would be unconquerable. As matters stand, we can put down the rebellion, because the people of the natural strongholds of the southern country are with us. It is chiefly in the low lands accessible from the ocean and navigable rivers and bays that treason is rampant. The mountain fastnesses, where alone a guerrilla war can be sustained, are now held by Union men, and they are more numerous and more robust, intelligent, and independent than the rebels. It is chiefly the more degraded class of non-slaveholders, who live in the midst of slavery, who are now engaged against the Government. But the non-slaveholders of the mountain and high land regions, while for the Union, are not free from the jealousy of caste, and the policy I object to would, if adopted, I apprehend, array them against us. Nor would we succeed in our object if they were finally subdued and exterminated, if we left the negroes on the soil; for other whites would take the country, and hold it against the negroes, and reduce them again to slavery, or exterminate them.

I am morally certain, indeed, that to free the slaves of the South, without removing them, would result in the massacre of them. A general massacre was on the eve of taking place in the State of Tennessee in 1856, upon a rising of some of them on the Cumberland; and I have been assured by Hon. Andrew Johnson, who was then Governor of the State, that nothing but his prompt calling out of the militia prevented it.

But this antagonism of race, which has led to our present calamities, and might lead to yet greater, if it continues to be ignored, will deliver us from slavery in the easiest, speediest, and best manner, if we recognize it as it is—the real cause of trouble, and invincible, and deal with it rationally.

We have but to propose to let the white race have the lands intended for them by the Creator, to turn the fierce spirit aroused by the secessionists to destroy the Union to the support of it, and at the same time to break up the slave system, by which the most fertile lands of the temperate zone are monopolized and wasted. That is the result which the logic of the census shows is being worked out, and which no political management can prevent being worked out. The essence of the contest is, whether the white race shall have these lands, or whether they shall be held by the black race, in the name of a few whites. The blacks could

never hold them as their own, for we have seen how quickly that race has disappeared when emancipated. Experience proves, what might have been inferred from their history, that it has not maintained and cannot maintain itself in the temperate zone, in contact and in competition with the race to which that region belongs. It is only when dependent that it can exist there. But this servile relation is mischievous, and the community so constituted does not flourish and keep pace with the spirit of the age. It has scarcely the claim to the immense area of land it occupies which the aborigines had ; for though the Indians occupied larger space, with fewer inhabitants, they did not waste the land as the slave system does. No political management or sentimentalism can prevent the natural resolution of such a system, in the end, any more than such means could avail to preserve the Indian possession and dominion.

The rebellion, like the Indian outbreaks, is but a vain attempt to stem the tide of civilization and progress. The treachery, falsehood, and cruelty perpetrated to maintain negro possession, scarcely less than that of the savages, marks the real nature of the contest. Nevertheless, I believe it might have been averted if we had adopted Mr. Jefferson's counsels, and made provision for the separation of the races, provided suitable homes for the blacks, as we have for the Indians. It is essential still, in order to abridge the conflict of arms, and to fraternize the people when that is past, to follow Mr. Jefferson's advice.

This most benevolent and sagacious statesman predicted all the evils which it has been our misfortune to witness, unless we should avert them by this, the only means which, after the most anxious thought, he could suggest. No statesman of our day has given the subject so much thought as he did, or possesses the knowledge or ability to treat it so wisely. Let us, then, listen to his counsels. By doing so we shall establish a fraternity among the workingmen of the white race throughout the Union, which has never existed, and give real freedom to the black race, which cannot otherwise exist. Nor is it necessary to the restoration of harmony and prosperity to the Union that this policy should be actually and completely put in force. It is only necessary that it should be adopted by the Government, and that it be made known to the people that it is adopted, to extinguish hostility in the hearts of the masses of the South towards the people of the North, and secure their co-operation in putting an end to slavery. No greater mistake was ever made than in supposing that the masses of the people of the South favor slavery. I have already stated that they did not take up arms to defend it, and explained the real motives of their action. The fact that they oppose emancipation in their midst is the only foundation for the contrary opinion. But the masses of the North are equally opposed to it, if the four millions of slaves are to be transported to their midst. The prohibitory laws against their coming, existing in all the States subject to such invasion, prove this. On the other hand, the intense hostility which is universally known to be felt by the non-slaveholders of the South towards all negroes expresses their real hostility to slavery, and it is the natural form of expression under the circumstances.

It needs, therefore, but the assurance which would be given by providing homes for the blacks elsewhere, that they are to be regarded as

sojourners when emancipated, as, in point of fact, they are and ever will be, to insure the co-operation of the non-slaveholders in their emancipation. Nor would they require immediate, universal, or involuntary transportation, or that any injustice whatever be done to the blacks. The more enterprising would soon emigrate, and multitudes of less energy would follow, if such success attended the pioneers as the care with which the Government should foster so important an object would doubtless insure; and with such facilities, it would require but few generations to put the temperate regions of America in the exclusive occupation of the white race, and remove the only obstacle to a perpetual union of the States.

With great respect, I am your obedient servant,

M. BLAIR.

To the COMMITTEE OF INVITATION, &c.

SPEECH

AT THE

MEETING HELD AT CLEVELAND,

MAY 20, 1863.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—My heart responds warmly to the feeling which induces your kind reception. I could not forego the opportunity offered by the invitation to be present on this occasion to meet so many earnest men in the cause of our country, and unite in your efforts to carry on the struggle and crown it with success.

The reaction against free Government in the United States and in this age, bears upon its front the marks of insanity. The father of the conspiracy, of which the convulsion which now fills the country with suffering and dismay is the offspring, wore on his face, as was remarked by many observers, when his last words and dying imprecations against the principles of our Constitution were read in the Senate, the ghastly aspect of a monomaniac. His conspiracy, prolonged through a thirty years' gestation, had even then a vitality to make itself painfully felt, and now the monstrous birth is stamped with his phrensiad features.

But neither the mysterious workings of Oath-bound societies, nor the public agitation contrived by intrigue, in Congress, in State Legislatures and election canvasses, to engender partisan fury, prepared the country to expect and meet the shock it has received. The progress of the Government had been so easy, prosperous, and glorious; it had attained such high rank with States of greatest strength and renown, that scarcely any sound mind supposed it possible that an assassin attempt would be made to close its career by a sudden blow, as if its life were as frail as that of an individual. There is no parallel in the history of the world of a similar assault on a vast, beneficent, beloved, popular Government, without even an alleged act of oppression on its part to provoke it, and whilst it was actually administered and its advantages enjoyed by the very men who aimed the stroke for its destruction.

But whilst prosperity made us insensible to the danger, the wise and patriotic men who founded the Government, saw in slavery a mine by which phrensy and selfish ambition might lay their work in ruin. The slavery of one race they felt was not compatible with the freedom of another. They hoped the superior race, influenced by the benign tendencies of the

Government they managed and enjoyed, would ultimately extend the blessing of liberty to a dependent people, and effectually remove their disabilities on a new scene of useful and independent exertion. These considerations induced the sages, on founding the Republic, not to disturb that poisonous element which they believed the vigor of the Constitution would work out of the system in time. They lived to see their fond hopes proved delusions. The noxious plant of barbarous African growth, taking root in the accumulations of avarice, worked by the energy of a great race, outstripped all the sweet shoots of humanizing culture given to our Constitution by the benevolent philosophy of our forefathers. In plain truth, slavery has propagated in its region, in prodigious strength, all that is evil in the nature of our countrymen, and stifled all the virtues in which our glorious Government had its origin. How strikingly this is demonstrated by the fact, that whilst there was not a man in the South, who contributed to establish the free institutions among us, who did not denounce slavery as a curse from which the country must somehow be redeemed, now there is not one of that slave-breeding and governing class who does not proclaim it as the all-essential blessing for which life itself must be sacrificed.

The process by which this melancholy change has been accomplished is illustrated by the drunkard's career. This unhappy class of reprobates once felt that decency, sobriety, industry and purity were the true sources of happiness. But long indulgence in intoxicating draughts renders existence a burden unless stimulated into extravagant feeling; wild hilarity or sensual indolence then become their only good. Negro slavery is that black opium drug in the South which excites it into delirious phrensy or sinks it into that sad lethargy, both alike fatal to its prosperity. It pampers every vice and impairs every virtue.

And can a State prosper under a system working such demoralization? The picture now presented in the land of slaves tells the same story which is to be found in the annals of every slave empire. All Asia has been corrupted by slavery. Africa, its birth-place, has ever been a desert. The glorious ancient republics perished under its influence, after reaching the highest point of civilization by the hardy virtues of a free people, and modern Europe only redeemed herself from the common fate by the extinction of the feudal system that originated serfdom.

Reverence for the hopeful idea of our fathers that the inherent virtue of the Constitution would extinguish slavery induced all who felt that its permanence would be destructive, to acquiesce in a passive resistance to its extension, although that resistance had proved unavailing to its first encroachments west of the Mississippi. It was hoped that the passion for expansion would be allayed by the surrender of Missouri and the acquisition of Texas, and that the compromise line established in 1820 and re-approved in 1850 as the northern boundary of slavery would be respected. But having secured the President, both branches of Congress and the Supreme Court, the slave power resolved to break all compacts and strike for the empire of the continent. Kansas was taken by force and a slave government was designed to be established by fraud, and the Supreme Court affirmed a principle in the Dred Scott case which carried it all over our country. Slavery, the Court said, was a property which was held under the Constitution of the United States, and for that reason could not

be excluded from the Territories by their lawful Government. The reasoning applies to the States as well as to the Territories, for the Constitution of the United States is equally paramount in both. Their filibusters or pirates having failed in their attempt to seize Cuba and Central America, they proposed to take these countries openly by the power of the Government. Such were the means adopted prior to the war to make the Constitution of the United States what that of the Confederacy now is, an instrument to increase, diffuse and perpetuate slavery and make it a continental institution ; but the oligarchy saw by the election of Lincoln that the peaceful action of the ballot-box would reverse these wrongs, and prevent future aggressions either to extend slavery further South or to maintain it in the regions subjected by the Supreme Court. They were prepared for this contingency, and flew to arms to assert their doctrine that slavery was the best foundation for the Government, and have undertaken, like Mahomet, the propagation of their faith and institutions by the sword.

Hence it was in vain that Mr. Crittenden's appeasing resolutions were passed—in vain that an amendment to the Constitution declaring slavery to be irrevocably established unless abolished by the States within which it existed—no sacrifice, not even that of the Constitution, to give additional guarantees to slavery where it existed, could save the country from war, for by that means alone it was now evident could slavery be made the dominant principle in the New World. It is that domination for which they are contending. Independence is sought only as a means of effecting that object. Once possessed by that means of the control of the Mississippi, they think that the Northwest would adopt the Confederate Constitution and sacrifice the freedom of the negroes to secure the freedom of the Mississippi, and that the Middle States, and even New England, would not be slow to follow suit.

And when we remember how far on the mere menace of disunion the country acquiesced in that Dred Scott doctrine which alone distinguishes the rebel constitution from our own, can we doubt that if the rebellion is successful, we will yield that point to restore the Union? Robert Toombs will yet call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill unless we conquer. The controversy therefore is between slavery and the Government.

The President, to whom the defence of the Government and the command of its armies belong, has labored to avert the dangers with which we are encompassed by various measures in aid of the armed forces he has sent to the field. He would save the Union with or without slavery—would save it in any way, at whatever cost. The Union in peace under the Constitution was again and again his overture. If there could be no assurance of this with rebels bent on subverting the republic to establish an oligarchy of slaveholders, then to the loyal friends of free government in the South he tendered emancipation with compensation and a deliverance by colonization from a war of races which could only end in the extermination of the negro race or amalgamation with it. This failing, after nearly two years of expostulation and forbearance to exert to the utmost the military power conferred on him under the Constitution, the President felt himself constrained to issue that Proclamation of freedom to the slaves, who were in every sense the enemy's sinews of war. Some

of them were found fighting in their ranks—multitudes in erecting and defending their fortifications—the greater mass in the fields at home, enabling their conscription to drag every able-bodied white man into the field of battle against the Government, who, when there, are literally fed and paid by the products of that slave labor, to secure and extend which was the pronounced object of the war.

This proclamation of the President was a reluctant advance, because, however necessary, it proceeded solely from himself, as being alone invested by the Constitution with the direction of the military power of the nation, and because in deciding on the necessity of its application in the way which the exigency before him seemed to demand, he placed the Government in a position *from which there was no retreat*. The proclamation to the slaves to weaken the enemy commits the nation irrevocably to make good the pledge by the *utmost exhibition of its power*. It not only creates an obligation to the bondsmen whose action it is meant to control, but it is an implied *pledge of honor* to the foreign powers whose conduct it is designed to influence. That measure which, as Commander-in-Chief, the President rightfully adopted under the Constitution and in accordance with *national* law to obtain the co-operation of a whole race of people, and which involves both life and freedom in its results, when proclaimed, is now beyond revocation by either the civil or military authority of the nation. The people once slaves in the rebel States can never again be recognized as such by the United States. No judicial decision—no legislative action, State or national, can be admitted to re-enslave a people who are associated with our own destinies in this war of defence to save the Government, and whose manumission was deemed essential to the restoration and preservation of the Union and to its permanent peace.

The first movement in this grand system of emancipation has been already made under the orders of the President. It is seen in the segregations of the blacks from their masters and massing them at advantageous positions on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and the shores of the Mississippi as they are drawn from the interior. Here they are to be brought within works which they will be taught to construct and defend, and have the contiguous land assigned to them during the continuance of the war to contribute to their sustenance. Under proper discipline they will here learn much to fit them for self-government as an independent people, associated with a kindred race that now invites them to a congenial climate and a soil rich in all the productions best suited to repay in commerce the nations of more advanced civilization, for the protection and assistance they may have given them in their new homes with the governments into which they are admitted.

Meanwhile, during the war, the fortified places these freed men may hold on the Mississippi, the sea-coasts and elsewhere under their control, and with the support of portions of our armies, will render the river and coast commerce free to us, and exclude it from the enemy. When the war ends large numbers of the bondsmen, which it will have liberated, may still be retained temporarily, and may be employed under wages in executing the plans for national defence, proposed by the Military Committee of the last House of Representatives, in the conversion of the intra-canal navigation along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, now to a considerable extent com-

pleted for small boats, into a ship canal from New Orleans to New York, and in enlarging the canal now uniting the Lakes and the Mississippi. If the Erie Canal shall also be enlarged, the whole region of the Mississippi and the Atlantic will be insulated and invulnerable. The kindred measure—the Pacific Railroad—designed to carry the military power of the Republic to the defence of our Pacific possessions, if ever invaded, will be the work of European emigrants of our own blood, lured by the rich domain it penetrates, and which the nation presents as an inheritance to those who shall engage in its construction.

But the mission of the Afric-American race will not be concluded in the region which has been its house of bondage. Its destined glory as a redeemed, a free and civilized race is to be consummated in the American tropics. They will there infuse vigor, unity, and enterprise, with aspirations to emulate the progressive genius of the country of their birth. They will break the fetters of Cuba, and make it excel the fabled Hesperides under Cis'-Atlantic influences, and the favor of European nations interested in the commerce of the Indies of the West, far richer than those of the Orient. Aided with the capital and intelligence of the great commercial powers, they will make the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic flow through Central America, and they will bring their oppressed brethren from the Sahara of Africa to a Canaan in the New World.

I feel that I have given a very imperfect outline of the scheme of secession, of the manner in which your Chief Magistrate has met the emergency, and how he proposes to make the evils which have befallen us the sources of blessing to our posterity and to mankind.

It is inadmissible and unnecessary here to do more than glance at these great themes. Acute observers, and some who have skill in dealing with details, have found much to complain of in the President's Administration. Unquestionably many errors have been committed—errors not only noticeable to microscopic vision, but to enlarged minds. But, regarded as a whole, I think he may safely ask the verdict of his cotemporaries and of posterity upon his patriotism and comprehensive wisdom.

SPEECH

AT THE

UNION MASS CONVENTION,

CONCORD, N. H., JUNE 17, 1863.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—I thank you for this kind greeting. I have cherished ties with New Hampshire, and for almost twenty years have had such friendly intercourse with the people of the State, that such an assurance of their approval is peculiarly gratifying and encouraging. But I am sensible that it is not as one of the family, or because of any personal relations with you, that you receive me so kindly to-day. It is because I am a member of your Government, and because you recognize in me a representative of the National sentiment which now animates and always has animated New Hampshire. In 1776, in 1812, and in the present day of trial—the three great eras of national peril—no portions of our people have exhibited more devotion to the national cause than the people of New Hampshire, whether we refer to the manifestation of zeal in the fight, after the appeal was made to arms, or whether we refer to the moderation and wisdom of their political action, to the respect they exhibited for the just rights of the South, or the firmness displayed in maintaining their own rights—in every aspect in which the conduct of this people can be regarded, in these great eras, it challenges the admiration of the friends of popular Government. No one can now recur to the political conflicts which preceded the rebellion, and observe the part taken by the people of this State, without seeing that they had a clear insight into the nature of the controversy, and acted well their part, and have been steadfast throughout to the Union and Constitution, and to genuine Democratic principles.

What was that controversy? Was it really an effort on the part of the North to abolish slavery, and on the part of the South to defend their property? This would be a most superficial view of the subject. That would be the slavery question in the same sense as the regulation of the exchanges constituted the bank question. It needs but little political knowledge to discover that the real object of the parties controlling these institutions, the *peculiar* institution as well as the banking, was to make use of them as agencies to control the Government. To oppose this class government was the natural impulse of true democracy in both instances.

When the nullifiers failed both to make themselves masters of the Government or to break it up with the *tariff question*, because they could not unite the South on that question, President Jackson foresaw that they would resort to the slave question, on which they could consolidate the South. He was alarmed, because he knew that slavery created a morbid sensitiveness which would enable the nullifiers to unite the South to demand the submission of the North on the penalty of disunion. He strove to

baffle their design, denounced their abolition cry in advance, as a "*pretext*," and concurred with Col. Benton and other true Democrats in remonstrating against their admission into the Democratic party. Twice have these wicked men attempted to execute the design so truly foreshadowed by the patriotic and prophetic heart of Jackson—first in 1850, after the defeat of 1848, and now again on their defeat in 1860.

But they succeeded for many years, by the use of the slavery question, in holding the power of the Government, and used it skillfully to perpetuate their rule. This fact was proclaimed by their Vice-President Stephens, in his speech in 1860, when he demonstrated at Augusta that it was a blunder for them to quit a Union whose government they had enjoyed so long, and might hereafter enjoy, despite of the temporary ouster. And Mr. Stephens was not the only chief who quitted reluctantly the theatre on which they had exercised a sway almost imperial for a generation. But they had fired the Southern heart, and nothing but blood or dominion could quench the flame.

And yet there are men, and men calling themselves *Democrats*, who think the people of the North should not have rallied, even in 1860, to assert their equal right in the Government they had equally contributed to found, but from which they had been practically excluded from influencing for twenty years. Worse still, these men call themselves "Jackson men" whilst following the nullifiers, Jackson's most savage enemies and revilers—suffering themselves to be duped by the cry of "abolition," which the Old Hero had denounced, in advance, as a "*false pretext*."

But if we left out of view the fact that Jackson and Benton, and the true leaders of the Democratic party in the South, denounced this slavery agitation as a nullifier's plot for dominion or disunion, and that their pretended quarrel with their abolition allies had proved a rich harvest for their ambition for many years, and wrought such exclusion of the people of the North from all share in the Government, as to forbid the idea of their favoring the discussion, except upon the assumption of their absolute stupidity, how can any intelligent and candid mind accuse the North of making the controversy in view of the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the Kansas outrage?

The conduct of the people, after the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, shows beyond all controversy that they understood the operation of the slave discussion—recognized the law that they had no power over the subject, and the fact that it disfranchised them, and sought, both for their own interests and the general good, to avoid it. For this reason they scrupulously kept the faith on the compromise of 1850, though they had not liked the terms of it when it was adopted. But as a finality, and on a pledge of faith that it was a settlement of the slave question, they adhered to it. There were many able men, indeed, and among them your own Senator, Mr. Hale, who, distrusting the good faith of the Southern leaders, refused to pledge themselves to adhere to the compromise. But the people of the North generally, and of New Hampshire particularly, would tolerate no disturbance of that settlement. So strong was the feeling here, that Mr. Hale thought his career closed—I presume so, at least, as I understood he removed to New York to practice law—and I have no doubt he would now have been at the head of the profession in that city

if the nullifiers had not recalled him to the Senate by the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

So much for the past—I draw no unfavorable auguries from it for the future. The self-reliance of the American people—the grand feature which distinguishes them among nations—is visible throughout this contest, and remains unshaken to secure our power and freedom. Look over the earth and you will see an Emperor here, an autocrat there, an omnipotent parliament representing an upper class, a hereditary King, the instrument of a regency of Courtiers with a mercenary army at their beck disposing of the lives and fortunes of the multitude, in utter contempt of their feelings and opinions. Here we have before us an exhibition of the spirit that pervades, animates, gives impulse to everything that touches the interest of an American citizen, from the highest to the lowest. Men of all parties are here—men of every religious sect—men of all conditions, all callings, all professions, and each of them contributes a share in creating the feeling and the public opinion which is to make or mar the welfare of a continent now stricken by civil war.

Among any other than the American people, such a wide-spread civil war—mustering more than a million of men in arms, would portend revolution. Is there a man in this vast crowd who apprehends that the Constitutions—State and National—left us by our fathers are to be changed in letter or in spirit, by this bloody struggle? Is there one who expects the result to be the driving out of one President by bayonets, and the installation of another—the breaking up of one form of government, and construction of a new one—the periodical catastrophe in revolutionary Mexico, or the permanent severance of our States and of the natural boundaries assigned by Providence to us as a nation? No loyal man anticipates such a revolution from this rebellion—none but bad, ambitious men, who would sacrifice popular institutions, secured by the best government known to the world, to selfish designs, countenance the idea. The heartless faction of oligarchs, North and South, who consider republican principles an abomination, desire to convert this war, into which the government has been drawn in defence of its existence, into a revolutionary convulsion for its subversion.

There are two knots of conspiring politicians, at opposite ends of the Union, that make slavery a fulcrum, on which they would play see-saw with the Government, and willingly break it in the middle and demolish it to make experiments with the fractions in reconstructions suited to their designs, which are only known as hostile to the well-balanced constitutions inherited by our fathers. The Calhoun and Wendell Phillips Juntas have both sought the accomplishment of their adverse ends by a common means—the overthrow of the Constitution. Calhoun's school would destroy every free principle, because repugnant to the perpetuity and propagation of slavery universally as the only safe foundation of good government. Phillips' school would subject all our systems of government to the guillotine of revolutionary tribunals, because they recognize the existence of different races among us—of *white*, *red* and *black*; because they repudiate the idea of equality and fraternity in regard to citizenship that tends to produce that amalgamation, personal and political, which would make our government one of mongrel races, and because they authorize

legislation—State and National—which may exclude them from taking root in the soil and government of the country.

The white man has extruded the Indian race from dominion on this continent, its native-born aboriginal inheritor. The African was introduced on it, not as its owner or to give it law, but to be owned and receive law; and under this aspect the white man, as a conqueror, has accommodated the constitutions of the country to his own condition—that of the ruling race. The ground which Wendell Phillips and his followers take is not merely to alter the law and enfranchise the races held under it as inferior to that holding the dominion by right of conquest, but to abolish the constitutions which recognize that right as established, and admit to equal participation those races hitherto excluded as inferiors.

The people who hold the sovereignty in the United States, equally abjure the Calhoun and Phillips doctrine, both looking to a radical revolution to accomplish their opposing schemes. The platform of principles which put Mr. Lincoln at the head of the Government explicitly denounced both; and every State paper from the hand of the President referring to it, proclaims a policy at war with that of the partisans of Calhoun on the one hand, and of Phillips on the other. Providentially, the treason hatched under the incubation of Calhoun has destroyed the whole progeny of mischiefs by means of which he sought to work the overthrow of the Government. Rebellion to overthrow the Constitution compelled the exertion of its war power, under which has fallen in the rebel States that local institution employed by the assailants of the national system for its ruin. The bondage which rendered the slaves subservient to this purpose, is declared by the President's proclamation to be broken, and if the arms of the United States can maintain its authority, the servitude which the Constitution once made it a duty to tolerate, now becomes, by the *fiat* of its war functionary, the malady that must be thrown off for self-preservation. The life of the Constitution is now the death of slavery. The weapon used to destroy the Government is wrested from the hands of traitors, and is a forfeit. The slavery abolished under the proclamation is the rightful conquest as it is the salvation of our free institutions. It can never be restored but through their subversion. Into this practical issue Calhoun's State right doctrines resolve themselves. If the people of the United States constitute a nation—have a national Government, and can maintain it, his so-called State rights, exerted to destroy it, conclude in treason.

To what better result do the abolition doctrines of Wendell Phillips come? Slavery is abolished, as I have shown, by the rebellion and its consequences—by the war, and the constitutional means accorded to the Government for its defence. The abolition of slavery does not content one class of anti-slavery men. The Wendell Phillips school, to arrive at the consummation of their wishes, demand the same sacrifice that Calhoun's proselytes make war to obtain—the abolition of the Constitution of the United States. They demand that the different races on this continent, marked by the very terms of the Constitution and the laws made under it as subordinate to the white race asserting full sovereignty over this country, shall be elevated to equality with the race holding it by conquest, and whose Constitution and laws specially ordain its appropriation to them-

selves. This amalgamation in races is more than a revolution in government. It is an attempt to make a fundamental change in the laws of nature, and, by blending different species of the human race, create a hybrid nation. This will prove to be an impossibility. The red, white, and black races have mingled very freely on this continent, but the hybrids gradually wear out, while the old stock preserves its original type. The French, from the infancy of discovery on this continent, intermarried with the Indian tribes—but where is the French tribe of Indians to be found? They made the same experiment with the blacks in St. Domingo, and a mongrel race appeared for a time of various tints, but it is gradually vanishing. So the old Spanish blood that mixed with that of the Indians, in Spanish America, has almost run out, and Indians and Spaniards are as incongruous with each other as in the beginning, and the fatal result of this attempted amalgamation is shown in the degradation of both races, and in the instability of their governments.

If the history of the world, and the present aspect of both hemispheres, did not make manifest the absurdity of the proposed system of mixing the black and white races in the management of a common government, and blending the two colors to make a third, or rather a piebald people of all colors, the repugnance of caste which has grown up in this country, on the part of the white freeman to the black man, contrasted by his servile condition from his first appearance among us as strongly as by his *ebon* skin and curled hair, certainly shows that nothing short of insanity could hope to reconcile the dominant, and, I might say, the domineering race, to such a conjunction. When the Northern free States have framed laws prohibiting the colored freedman from obtaining a foothold on their soil, upon what terms can it be supposed the master race, in the slave States, would consent to associate with negroes made free by the hand of war? They would see their State laws and their State rights, as they insist, set aside by the deprivation of their ownership in slaves. This would be just forfeiture. But while the free States of the North excluded the manumitted slaves from their soil, avowing the abhorrent feeling of *caste* as an insuperable bar to the association on any terms, much less of equality, how could it be asked of the Southern States that this excommunicated race, surrendered by them as slaves, should be retained, nevertheless, among them, and admitted as equals and as partners in political power, in defiance of the Constitution of the United States, and the laws even of the Northern States, which brand them with the badge of inferiority and political disability? What would be the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon and the African toward each other in such relations produced by the triumph of the free States over the slave? Would the white man of the South live to bear subjugation to such fellowship? Would not the inextinguishable memory of wrongs on one side, and of admitted mastery on the other, make patient acquiescence on either side impossible? All the bloodiest revolutions of ancient and modern times have been those broached by slaves against enslavers.

Our civil war, closing in the manumission of four million of slaves, to take equal rank with six million of enslavers, would be but the prelude to a servile war of extermination. Can any one doubt that the military skill and desperation of the master race would reduce the negroes again to sub-

jugation, unless the freemen of the North made common cause with them against their white brethren? The bare statement of this complication makes it apparent that there can be no peace on this continent on the basis of the ultra abolitionists who insist on the abolition of existing constitutions to establish negro amalgamation, liberty, fraternity and equality. Yet, I have long ago proclaimed myself unalterably the friend of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the African race, but not in this region, which is devoted, by constitutions, laws and fixed usages, to the liberty, equality and fraternity of the race of pale-faces. Such commingling of blood, of domestic intimacies, of social, civil and political interests, between the white and black castes is unnatural and fatal to the welfare of both, and, therefore, impossible.

The advocates of this hybrid policy know this, but they think the negro so essential to the selfish purposes of their political ambition, that, like Calhoun, they are willing to make him, as well as those who hold him in durance, the victim of their policy. I advocate the President's plan of saving both, and ministering to their prosperity and to their elevation in their respective spheres to power and greatness as a people.

This may be done by a gradual segregation of the two races, and assigning to each the regions on this continent and adjacent isles congenial to their natures. The old Roman policy of spreading their institutions and influence abroad in the world, by providing homes for new people drawn into their service, and whom it was not politic and safe to settle in Italy, should be adopted in favor of the unhomogeneous dependent people of African descent whom this war will throw upon the hands of the Government as freedmen. Many of them will enlist in the army—multitudes will be employed on the waste lands of the Government in providing for their own subsistence. All should be drawn together in military camps on the Roman plan—put under the control of public officers, instructed in the business of self-government, self-defence, and self-support, and when employed in the public service, amply compensated. Thus, they would be in a state of probation while the Government would have opportunity to provide for their settlement in the suitable regions to which they are invited as colonists. When peace comes and this liberated multitude seek other employment than that servitude under former masters who would render it more intolerable than the slave system, which, while it extorted labor without compensation, yet created such an interest in the bodies of the slaves that they were cared for on economical principles, the Government must necessarily become their patron. Placed in this relation, the Government must provide them compensated employment, until they are ready to assume the character of an independent people. This might be done advantageously in the Southern States, by opening into ship canals those communications which the enterprise of individuals and the natural aqueducts from the Mississippi have to a great extent opened up from the great artery of our continent around the shores of the Gulf through the Hudson to the lakes. What a glorious result of the war for North and South, especially the latter, would be the completion of this bond of commercial brotherhood—this interception of the waters of all our rivers and bays before they reach the Atlantic, and opening them up to each other out of the reach of the hostile navies that might endanger our commerce

or bring foreign power to the invasion of our homes. The great wall of China—the prodigious military highways through which Rome united her empire over Asia, Africa and Europe, were the works of populations, whose necessities placed them as a charge on the government.

By such means the process of liberating four millions of bondsmen, and then preparing them to assume the attitude of a self-governing nation, might be made to secure to the United States forever their Union, their domestic peace and immunity from foreign invasion.

Instead of the mutual benefits which the President's plan proposes to draw out of our present adversity, by making the Afrie-American race a nation in a fruitful, congenial clime, protected in all their rights under the American flag, opening the way to people of our own race to fill their places, and putting an end to the anomalous character of our institutions which destroy our peace, what do those ultra humanitarians offer? They profess so much philanthropy in the abstract, and such perfect impartiality in judging of human affairs, that they seem to think the millennium come, and invite the lion and lamb to lie down together. They would break up all constitutions, laws and usages, assuming that all antagonisms of interests, of prejudices, of passions, were at an end in a land of fetters and whips, of swords, guns and bayonets in the hands of six millions of incensed masters, and that four millions of their manumitted slaves might be safely trusted to their tender mercies. This is a practical illustration of the Wendell Phillips love for the down-trodden African!

But the Phillipeans probably do not expect the amalgamation, liberty, equality and fraternity theory to be acceptable to the present ruling class, but intend that the Northern white man, while rejecting it for himself, shall enforce it on the Southern white man. Unfortunately for this scheme, the Northern soldier intends becoming a Southern white man himself, and he wants the lands he redeems from nullification for himself and his posterity, and as an inheritance for his race.

The scheme is another birth of that monstrous philosophy which would have discarded the Slave States from the Union and delivered the negroes to perpetual bondage, on the pretence that the conscience of the North might no longer be burdened with responsibility for the crime of Slavery.

All the propositions of the abolition faction which is warring on the President come to these conclusions: destruction of the Constitution, and of the white and black races, or incessant wars after the example of the Moors and Spaniards, until the expulsion of the former from Spain. All the early patriots of the South—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Clay and others, were the advocates of emancipation and colonization. The patriots of the North concurred in the design. Is the faction now opposing it patriotic or philanthropic? are they not rather like Calhoun, working the negro question to accomplish schemes of selfish ambition, and after his method making a balance of power party of a phalanx of deluded fanatics, keeping the Union and the public peace perpetually in danger, and seeking power in the Government through its distractions?

The author of the Declaration of Independence and his associates declared *equal rights* impracticable in society constituted of *masses* of different

races.* De Tocqueville, the most profound writer of the Old World on American Institutions, predicts the extermination of the blacks, if it is attempted to confer such rights on them in the United States. It is obvious that an election would be but a mockery in a community wherein there could be no other than *black* and *white* parties. In such communities reason and experience show that one or the other race must be the dominant race, and that Democracy is impossible. This is not less obvious to the Phillips school than it is to the Calhoun school, who concur in opposing the policy of Mr. Jefferson, adopted by the President, intended to effectuate the design of our fathers to establish popular government. They concur in pressing here the antagonism of races, and only differ in looking to different races to give them power. The result of this antagonism, so far as popular government is concerned, would be the same if either could succeed in their schemes, and you would scarcely have much preference between being governed by Jeff. Davis, as the leader of the slave power, and Wendell Phillips, as the leader of the enfranchised blacks. But neither can succeed. Even the Calhoun scheme, matured through so many years of intrigue by men versed in public affairs, and attended with a temporary success, is a failure as a governing contrivance, though potent still to spread ruin widely through the land, and especially to desolate the homes of his deluded followers. The Phillips scheme is the dream of visionaries wholly unskilled in government, and will be a failure from the start. He may in turn make victims of the negroes, as Calhoun has of their masters. But I think not. They are not ambitious of ruling white men, and will, I believe, be contented to set up for themselves in some neighboring and congenial clime, on the plan of Jefferson and Lincoln. Here is the real issue with the President. Emancipation is a fixed fact. What next? Shall we take Phillips for a guide, or Jefferson and Lincoln? The people will, I am sure, answer wisely.

* The colonization of our free blacks in the tropical regions of America was suggested by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia. In a letter addressed to Mr. Sparks, referring to it, he said:

"The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum, to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population (the negroes) from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free, and independent people, in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness."

He urged the proposition at one time before the Virginia Legislature—speaking of it afterwards, he said:

"It was, however, found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it even at this day; yet the day is not far distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people (the negroes) are to be free; *nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same Government.* NATURE, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and in their place be *pari passu* filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors."

